1: Federal W-5 (no date) 1986
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
Georgia

Pine Barren Near Eulonia

•122 [491] AFTER THE MUDDY RUTS THROUGH THE PINE clearing had ended, there was no road, and the car jerked and bounded about among the pine trees. The soft brown needles made better traveling than the boggy wagon tracks that were behind us, but our method of procedure was rather bewildering, for there was no mark by which to retrace our tracks. As we went deeper into the pine woods there was no sign of habitation.

[115] Our driver,* who had offered to help us when our car had stuck in the bog, was a six-foot, shiny black Negro, strong necked and lithe, with a twelve-inch hunting knife strapped to his hip. We had never seen him before, nor the smaller Negro beside him on the front seat. In the back seat we were concerned with our feet, which rested precariously among loose cartridge shells. We feared that a sudden jolt from a pine stump might make us stamp down on the shells and explode them.

361 Suddenly we came upon a reed and paling fence higher than the head of a tall man. There was nothing to be seen over the top of it, no sign of occupation. We drove around to the side where, protected by some feathery bushes, a small opening hardly distinguishable from the palings led into an enclosure. Scattered without plan about a smooth sand clearing were three or four small unpainted wooden cabins, two connected by a narrow board walk just above the ground. Other smaller structures, sheds, and work tables were placed

* *Reuben Taylor, Eulonia.*

1: Federal W-5 (no date) 1986
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
Georgia

propped up against one of the buildings, we recalled a belief prevailing in most of the Negro communities already visited.

"Does a hoe possess magic qualities?" we wanted to know.

Uncle Ben and Reuben glanced at each other, then muttered in unison, "Yes'm, duh hoe is magic sho nuff."

From Reuben we received the additional statement, "Ef yuh carry duh hoe tru duh house, it sho mean bad luck."

Uncle Ben's contribution was, "I heah lots uh tings bout duh hoe. I heah tell bout how it jis stan right up in duh fiel by itsef an wuk fuh yuh widout nobody techin it—das ef yuh kin wuk it right." [39]

When we asked about the music played at dances and at church services, Uncle Ben explained to us, "Some yeahs back at duh dances dey would alluz beat duh drums an shake some kine uh bones wut dey make frum cow's ribs. All duh folks would keep time wid deah hans an feet an dance tuh duh music." [23]

Apparently the memory of similar affairs was pleasant to Reuben, the young guide, for his eyes gleamed and his white teeth flashed in a sudden smile. "Fo I wuz married," he said, "I use tuh go tuh dances an picnics all duh time. Dey would hab only duh drums fuh music an dey would beat on em an duh folks would dance roun in a ring tuh duh toon."

As it was growing dark, we were forced to end our visit to this interesting settlement. Reuben led the way back to the car and we plunged again into the pine forest.

Going back over the trail we commiserated with Reuben, who apparently made the trip frequently. "I comes tuh see em mos ebry day. Yuh see, Ise married tuh deah baby girl," he confided.

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

121 tigation, the material and data needed to solve the problem, and the field procedures most likely to be useful.[3]

•122 Preparing a research design is one thing; actual entrance into a Sea Island community is quite another. Because the islanders are suspicious of all outsiders, one group of investigators has suggested that research in the islands and in other black communities be conducted in conjunction with local, community-controlled agencies that provide services to the communities.[4] These agencies can be asked to verify the integrity of potential Sea Island investigators and to approve the uses to which they plan to put the results of their research. Not only do organizations of this sort have access to a wide range of information that would be useful to the researcher, but the researcher can reciprocate by making available to the agency any useful information that he or she acquires from outside sources. Coordinate research reduces the risk of community exploitation and is likely to produce positive results from the community.

124 No matter how careful one's planning has been, as I learned quickly, one may find it necessary to deviate from customary methods of assembling data and to adjust the procedures and time allotted for a study to correspond to the temperament and discretion of the informants. For example, included in the preliminaries made in preparation for my research was a word list containing minimal pairs for the elicitation of vowels and consonants. Because the list was long, and the elicitation so painfully slow and exacting, I did not attempt to procure this information until almost two years after my initial investigation. By then the informants knew me well and were willing to tolerate such a tedious procedure. Even with their willing assistance, it took as long as a week, sometimes more, to complete the word list for one informant.

123 No research design or methodology, of course, can assure a successful investigation in any discipline in the Sea Island communities. In many ways the success or failure of a study becomes dependent on the islanders' response to the personality of the researcher, and their willingness to accept both researcher and project. Of primary importance, one must have a convincing reason for being on a given island. Patricia Nichols, to take one example, acquired entry into a river island community as a teacher—a profession highly valued by the Sea Islanders. According to her, working in a highly visible capacity at a job that made sense for the particular community chosen allowed her to observe and participate in a great variety of speech events.[5]

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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Acknowledgments

•122 A major portion of this book would consist of names if all the people who contributed in some way were included. Before all others, however, I gratefully acknowledge the people of the Sea Islands, because without their willing cooperation there would have been no book. I am especially indebted to two residents of Wadmalaw Island, Aneatha Brisbane (Miss Myma) and Ida Morris-Hamilton (Miss Ida Mae) for accepting me into their homes and providing me with ties to well-respected island names. Since the islanders know and understand well the meaning of sharing as an inherent part of the extended family, I express my gratitude to the following families rather than to individuals: the Browns, the Williamses, the Pickneys, the Linens, the Jenkinses, the Middletons, the McClouds, the McClures, the Buggs, the Mitchells, the Seabrooks, the Orees, the Smalls, the McDermotts, the Pyatts, the Washingtons, the Mickells, the Gibbses, the Riverses, the Macks, the Ropers, the Higginses, the Simmonses, the Dents, the Fraziers, the Murrays, the Quimbys, the Cummingses, and the Campbells.

000 I wish to thank the Nigerian people from the Igbo, Yoruba, and Ibebio cultures for their tolerance and patience in helping me to learn their languages and folklore traditions. I offer special thanks to the Ihejetoh family, the Udondek family, the Onunkwo family, and the Konyeers family.

128 Several friends, colleagues, and professors at the University of Michigan offered assistance and provided guidance for this book in its embryonic stages. These include Rosie Morant Douglas, who first told me about the Sea Island people while sitting in the undergraduate library one afternoon in 1972, and Faith Mitchell, who accompanied me on my first trip to the island communities. I wish also to thank Richard Bailey, J. C. Catford, Peter Fodale, Lemuel Johnson, Patrick Bynoe,

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
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128 Louise Rounds Ball, and Kathy Eiseley, who gave me the stimulation and encouragement that I needed to begin the project in 1973.

I have also benefited from the knowledge and insights of several linguists, anthropologists, historians, folklorists, and friends from other universities. Outstanding among these is my mentor and friend Professor Charles Joyner, a native of the coastal area and the author of *Down by the Riverside*. He believed, even when I felt that I no longer believed, that the manuscript would become a book. I also acknowledge others who were kind enough to listen or read drafts of the manuscript, honest enough to provide principled criticism, and most of all committed enough to write out lengthy suggestions on how to improve it. I owe special thanks to Ralph Fasold, Fred Cassidy, Dell Hymes, Orlando Taylor, Ian Hancock, Irma Cunningham, Salikoko Mufwene, Michael Montgomery, Lettie Molter, John Rickford, William Stewart, and Molefe Asante.

I warmly acknowledge my long-time friend from the Sea Island area, Dr. G. Franklin Edwards of Howard University, who in the words of the islanders often had to "brace my back against the wall of Zion, and plant my feet deep down in the soil" in order that I might finish this book. Other friends and colleagues who provided willing but "tired" ears include Claudia Tate, Edward Hawthorne, Arnold Wallace, Charles Sessoms, Michael Miller, Lettie Austin, Marshall Banks, Vernon Jones, Karen Michell, Carolyn Stroman, and my typist, Sally McCoy.

I wish to extend special thanks also to Malcolm Call, Ellen Harris, Dariel Mayer, Sandy Hudson, and Douglas Armato at the University of Georgia Press. I am particularly indebted to Janis Bolster, not only because she is a painstakingly proficient editor but because she was "gifted" with the ability to make the most obscure concepts flow easily into prose.

122 The research for this book was supported by several sources; without their assistance, I would never have been able to complete this study. At the University of Michigan I received a Horace H. Rackham Research Award and a summer grant from the Center for African and Afro-American Studies. At Howard University my work received support from the Faculty Research Program in the Social Sciences, the Humanities and Education Program of the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs; and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Faculty Grants Program. I was also awarded a WHMM Television De-

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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•122 velopment Grant and a service grant from South Carolina Educational Television. I am especially grateful to Mary Jaffee for her assistance and to the National Endowment for the Humanities for providing funds for this project for a one-year period.

000 Finally, I wish to acknowledge the generous support of my family: my mother and father, Haller and Curtis Jones, who kept my children while I went to Africa; Grandma Joella and my sisters and brothers, Beryl, Katie, Joycelyn, Phillip, Chester, Charles, and Bernard, who all took turns taking care of my children when I went to the Sea Islands. Most of all, I am grateful to my husband Sidney and our children, Beanie, Antoneia, Brie, and Benji, for tolerating me as I undertook my research. Now Beanie no longer has to ask, "Mommy, haven't you finished yet?"

[p. xxvii]

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

Notes

Preface

1. For a note on the usefulness of interdisciplinary approaches see David DeCamp, "Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Speech Continuum," in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 369.

2. For a detailed discussion of field procedures in general see Kenneth Goldstein, *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro, N.C.: Folklore Assoc., 1964).

3. See ibid., p. 21..

4. Juanita Jackson, Sabra Slaughter, and J. Herman Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," *Black Scholar*, March 1974, pp. 32–39.

5. For further discussion of entrance into Sea Island communities see Patricia Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976).

6. Goldstein, *Guide for Field Workers*, p. 173.

Introduction

1. The titles *Mr.* and *Miss* have more significance in Sea Island communities than they do outside. They are used in daily interaction with those who are felt to have earned particular respect, becoming part of their names.

2. See Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 11–12.

Chapter 1

1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," p. 32.

2. These estimates were derived primarily from the Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester (BCD) Council of Governments' *Report on Economically Less Developed Areas in the Berkeley Charleston Dorchester Region*, 1980.

3. For a detailed discussion of the folk life and language of Sandy Island and the

Ro. 1697

3: Creel H-4 (no date) 1988
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

Acknowledgments

122 My thanks to the University of California at Los Angeles for research support I have received in the past several years, through summer and sabbatical assistance. Funds from the Institute of American Cultures, College Institute Program, Faculty Career Development Program, and the Academic Senate were most generous.

127 In my search for information on the Gullahs I visited and had correspondence with many libraries. While investigations were not always fruitful, every library staff was helpful. I wish to thank the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Methodist Church Archives, Wofford College; Baptist Collection, Furman University; Beaufort Township Library, South Carolina; South Carolina Historical Society; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Library of Congress; Cornell University Library; Houghton Library, Harvard University; Historical Society of Wisconsin; Interlibrary Loan staff at the University of California at Los Angeles; and Oscar Sims, Social Science Bibliographer at UCLA.

128 I have received encouragement and suggestions from a number of people. My colleague Ruth Bloch read two important chapters of the manuscript and offered useful suggestions for rewriting. Daniel Littlefield of Louisiana State University read and commented on my chapter on the African slave trade and shared with me his historiographical knowledge of source material. Michael Mullin of California State University, Sacramento, read an earlier draft of the manuscript and offered perceptive comments. My colleague Gary Nash referred me to important source material and read an early version of the manuscript with much care and

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

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128 I am grateful to the members of my dissertation committee, Charles A. Ferguson, Gillian Sankoff, and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, for their invaluable ideas, suggestions, and encouragement at various stages of this study. I am indebted also to three people who early encouraged and aided my investigations of Gullah: Edith Trager Johnson, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Rebecca Agheyisi. Without Irma Cunningham's (127) earlier dissertation on the syntax of Gullah, the present work could not have been undertaken.

• 122 During my field work in coastal South Carolina, many
123 people gave concrete help of different kinds. Through the courtesy of William S. Young, Thaddeus Thompson, Edgar Caddell, and Peggy Walker, I was able to spend valuable time with the school children of rural Georgetown County. In the island community, Prince and Rebecca Washington introduced me to the community and spent hours of treasured conversation with me. My mother, Mildred Mitchell Causey, and her sister, Annie Laurie Bonnette, opened their homes to me whenever needed; I benefited in many unforeseen ways from their years of teaching in the public schools of the state. Another-
128 native of the Waccamaw region, historian and folklorist
129 Charles W. Joyner, was a source of crucial information and

128 insight at several points. My friend and colleague at
127 Winthrop College, Shirley Brice Heath, shared with me the joy of discovery and the pain of facing the unknown; her anthropological field work in up-country black communities
128 was an invaluable source of comparative data. My human and intellectual debt to Nolan Pliny Jacobson, my former professor at Winthrop, is greater than either of us knows.

Throughout my studies at Stanford, three people have been particularly supportive: Jean Beeson, Clara Bush, and Frank Nichols. I thank them for helping me to keep this work in perspective.

• 122 A Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship in Women's Studies during 1974-75 helped support the research and the writing of this dissertation.

6: Smith I,Y-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

124
125

Schematic of the Scale Measurements

	Scale	Everytime	Often	Sometime	Seldom	Never
Quest.	(3)	0	1	2	3	4

STUDY CONSIDERATIONS

122 Adjusting to the Sea Island environment was a crucial prerequisite to the successful conduct of this research effort. Even though the researcher is a native speaker of the Gullah dialect a period of adjusting or tuning into this speech pattern was necessary.

These adjustments were expedited by time and by gaining as much exposure to the dialect as possible.

124 Through the pre-administration activities it became clear that the interviewing schedules would have to be flexible and modified in consideration of the summer habits of the islanders. What this meant along with other things was that the researcher had to conduct the interviews of women folks at a time when the daily chores were completed and the women were relaxing from the summer heat. For working members of the family weekend and late evening interviews were most appropriate.

During the trail administration family members were obviously anxious about being isolated from the family and discussed their anxiety with the researcher. It was apparent that this procedure operated in opposition to a rather free flowing interaction style among family members.

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

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128 I am deeply grateful to my chairman, Professor Richard W. Bailey for his encouragement and penetrating criticisms of this manuscript, and to Professor J. C. Catford and Kathleen Gaudy who gave freely of their time and patience to aid my understanding of the phonetic properties of Gullah. In addition, I am indebted to Professor David Lawton of Central Michigan University for his encouragement, criticism and assistance in establishing correlations between Gullah and Jamaican Creole. I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor Peter Fodale for his valued counsel and recommendations, and Professor Peter Hook for contributing to my understanding of Guyanese Creole.

•122 I owe special thanks to Professor Lemuel Johnson, Patrick Bynoe and the staff of The Center for African and Afro-American Studies for funding my research project. Without their aid, the fieldwork could not have been undertaken. I wish to thank also Mr. Sidney and his children, Antoneia and Beanie, for providing a familiar environment in which to undertake this study.

006 Finally, I will be forever grateful to Jimmie Williams, Mrs. Myma and the people of Wadmalaw Island, South Carolina. Without their cooperation, this dissertation would not have been possible.

124 bogging?' The consultant would answer, 'Boots.' It often
126 took as long as a week to complete the word list for one consultant.

115 The Consultants

The consultants listed below were all born on Wadmalaw and had resided little or no time on shore.

1. Mrs. Aneatha Brisbane (Miss Myma) is a very gracious widow of seventy-four years. Her assistance in eliciting natural responses from others for word list and syntactic
• (122) structures was invaluable. I resided with her and am indebted to her for data recorded in familiar environments.

2. Mr. Henry Gibbs is a ninety-six-year-old gentleman. He remains still very active, loquacious, and alert. His recollections of ex-slave conditions and uninhibited speech was a major contribution to this work.

3. Mr. Ozzie Rivers (Mr. Happi) is a deeply religious seventy-year-old gentleman. He contributed much to my understanding of the phonology of Gullah. His vast store of religious experiences were reminiscent of similar ones dating back to West Africa.

4. Mrs. Annie Brown (Miss Missi) is a lighthearted widow of seventy-six, who leads a very private and secluded existence. I am grateful that she agreed to assist me with

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
Georgia
St. Simon's Island

Acknowledgments

122
128 In the twenty-five years of research represented in the collection of slave songs, from which the comparatively few examples in this book have been culled, aid has been given me that words can never repay. Without the help of its many friends, this music of the Georgia Sea Islands could not have been preserved. Two of its admirers gave generous support in the four frightening years following 1930. One provided the funds needed to continue the work when the chastened Negroes would do for a quarter what they will not do today for a dollar; the other contributed her time, thought and general assistance.

114
115 I wish that the names of all who have shared in this work could be given, but over a period of years I have become indebted to so many associates that it is inadvisable to mention more than those whose coöperation has produced far-reaching results.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Parsons of Lakeville, Connecticut, and Wassaw Island, and the late Augustus Oemler of Savannah and St. Catherine's Island, gave me in February, 1909, my first opportunity to hear the singing of primitive slave songs on the coast of Georgia.

In later years the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Jones, of Sea Island, furnished an opportunity to hear similar songs on Sapelo Island.

The friendly interest of the late Mrs. Clifton of The Ridge, McIntosh County, made me acquainted with the "ring-shout," which is so rarely seen, even by Southerners, that few realize "shouting" is a religious dance of African origin, and not a loud cry.

The Misses Dent, of Hofwyl Plantation, on the mainland in Glynn County, generously shared their knowledge of the songs that descendants of their family's slaves have been encouraged to preserve.

In Camden County, Mr. Chacey Kuehn, of Satilla Pines and New York City, gave valuable help in locating the best singers in the neighborhood of Tompkins, Burnt Fort, and Jerusalem.

The late Howard E. Coffin never lost an opportunity to share with others his delight in the slave songs. The applause of the cosmopolitan audiences he assembled at

10: Johnson S-4,5 (no date) 1930
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

PREFACE

THIS VOLUME is one of three which have grown out of a study of Negro culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, made under the joint auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. *Black Yeomanry*, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., contains a comprehensive treatment of the whole round of life on St. Helena Island today, and *A Social History of the Sea Islands*, by Guion Griffis Johnson, sets forth the historical antecedents of the culture of the sea island region.

The present volume deals with certain major aspects of the folk culture of St. Helena Island, namely, dialect, folk songs, and folklore. The section on dialect attempts to describe the Gullah dialect traits. The section on folk songs describes the status of folk songs on St. Helena Island today and then digresses at some length upon the question of the relation of American Negro music to English and American folk music. The general reader may be disappointed in such a discussion, but I feel that this is the time and place for it to be put forth. Mr. Ballanta's excellent collection entitled *St. Helena Island Spirituals* makes it unnecessary for me to publish additional spirituals. At the same time, his work, with its insistence on the African origin of the various characteristics of the Negro spirituals, makes it imperative that someone point out that there is much to be said for a white ancestry for the music of the spirituals. This I have attempted to do, the result being somewhat supplementary to Mr. Bal-

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
St. Helena Island

PREFACE

THIS STUDY of the social history of the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and more particularly of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, is one of three volumes resulting from the coöperative research project concerning Negro culture on St. Helena Island made under the joint auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. It was originally planned as a brief background study, but, in the search for data, so many valuable manuscript pieces were unearthed from dusty attics, strong-boxes, and long-forgotten chests that it was deemed advisable to lengthen the study into many pages. Later, the archives of the United States Treasury Department were opened for purposes of this research, and for the first time a complete picture of the Sea Islands during the Federal occupation throughout the Civil War has been made possible.

I have attempted to trace the history of one of the largest of the Sea Islands in its relation to the larger history of the coastal area of which it is inextricably a part. I have been concerned chiefly with cultural developments rather than with men and with politics, and I have always sought to discover the historical antecedents of life on St. Helena as it is today. I have brought this history to the close of the Reconstruction Period. The subsequent history of the Island—the struggle of the people to keep their land in the face of poverty, the destruction of their money crop by the coming of the boll weevil and the consequent economic re-adjustment, the prosperity of a few despite these handicaps, the broadening influence of Penn School on the lives of the people—is told in *Black Yeo-*